

from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 110-447) on the resolution (H. Res. 817) providing for consideration of the conference report to accompany the bill (H.R. 3074) making appropriations for the Departments of Transportation, and Housing and Urban Development, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2008, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

**REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 4156, ORDERLY AND RESPONSIBLE IRAQ REDEPLOYMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2008**

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida (during the Special Order of Mr. CONAWAY), from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 110-448) on the resolution (H. Res. 818) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 4156) making emergency supplemental appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2008, and for other purposes, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

**THE NAMING OF EMANCIPATION HALL**

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PERLMUTTER). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 18, 2007, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. JACKSON) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. JACKSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, let me first begin by expressing my support of a suspension bill that was offered to this body by Mr. CLYBURN, Mr. MILLER and the ranking minority member on education to help provide emergency funding for Historically Black Colleges and Universities that are seeking some bridge loans for construction projects.

I think that my remarks today in the 60 minutes that I have been allotted under the Speaker's announced policy are very consistent with the historical concept and circumstances for which that bill will be passed into law and hopefully signed by the President of the United States.

Today, Mr. Speaker, we have come to this temple of democracy on this momentous occasion to write a new chapter in the unfolding story of human freedom. Today this body passed H.R. 3315, a bill to name the Visitor Center great hall Emancipation Hall, offered by the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. WAMP), and the gentleman from Illinois, myself, Mr. JACKSON.

The event of emancipation marks one of the most, if not the most significant event in American history, and so too, at least from my perspective, was the passage of this bill. Unfortunately under the rule, it did not afford Members of Congress the opportunity to

have a broader discussion about the significance and the importance of this bill. But I do want to take this time to remind the Nation of the importance of this period and to reflect upon it during this Thanksgiving season.

Emancipation was more than an act; it was a process. Emancipation was not a date but a period. Emancipation was not an event but the fulfillment of providence that the Arc of history may be long, but it bends towards justice and human freedom. When the American Civil War erupted, both North and South defended their cause as morally just, legally right and constitutionally sound. Northerners and southerners saw themselves as true Americans following in the tradition of the footsteps of the Founding Fathers. North and South used the Constitution as the source of their moral and their legal authority for conducting a war against the other. Both sides saw themselves as standing in the tradition of the American Revolution. Each side contended that it was fighting for freedom and liberty, though certain facts contradicted the beliefs of both. The South said it was fighting to preserve freedom while protecting the institution of slavery. The North said it was fighting for liberty while not initially fighting to grant liberty to the slaves.

President Abraham Lincoln, our 16th President's address to the Sanitary Fair in Baltimore on April 18, 1864, summed up the quandary. He said, and I quote, "We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word 'liberty' may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labor, while with others, the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labor. Here are two not only different but incompatible things, called by the same name, 'liberty.' And it follows that each of these things is, by their respective parties," President Lincoln goes on to say, "called by two different and incompatible names, 'liberty' and 'tyranny.'"

He then went on to say, "The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as a liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. Plainly the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon the definition of the word 'liberty'; and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures, even in the North, and all profess to love liberty."

Today, women, lesbians, gays, bisexual and transgendered Americans, African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans and students see in the word "liberty" one thing. Today for the Titans of Industry, it still means quite another. For the dispossessed, it means for each person to do with himself as they please. For the Titans it means for them to do as they please with

other men and the product of their labor anywhere in the world.

As Lincoln said, "And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names, 'liberty' and 'tyranny.'"

That is why efforts to name the great hall Liberty Hall will settle for some but still not settle for others the fundamental question of human freedom in the American historical context. For millions of Americans to pass through Emancipation Hall and not Liberty Hall is an important acknowledgment about the process for attaining human freedom in our context as Americans.

Lincoln understood for his time and ours that we must not be confused about the language and the process of human freedom.

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Much has been said about Lincoln and his ambivalence about emancipation. I believe when placed in the greater context, clarity emerges in Lincoln's calculation of emancipation. In 1862, Lincoln's announced support of colonization, along with his lack of public support for emancipation, was generating sometimes vicious attacks from militant abolitionists, including a "Prayer for 20 Millions" editorial urging emancipation that appeared in Horace Greeley's New York Tribune. On August 22, a month after the private announcement to his Cabinet on July 22 that he intended to issue an Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln replied to Greeley's editorial with a masterfully written open letter. Here's what our 16th President had to say:

"If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount objective in this struggle is to save the Union, and it is either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing a single slave, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all of the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery, and colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forebear, I forebear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause."

Lincoln was reiterating his central thesis, that the purpose of the war was preservation of the Union, but in light of the intransigence of the border States, he was publicly hinting that he might have to do something more, including emancipation to save the Union. In this open letter, Lincoln was saying "if," but he had already concluded in his mind "that" the only way to save the Union was to free the slaves.